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from adults it is hard to see why they should bother with one another.[1] They are at the beck and call of anyone who wants a warm little body to caress. As Monyá, age two, wobbles by on fat uncertain legs Kanyahé calls to him. He slowly overcomes the momentum of his walk, turns about, smiles and wobbles obediently over to Kanyahé. Children lie like cats absorbing the delicious stroking of adults. The little children receive an enormous amount of adult attention and one never sees them caress one another or lie down together. It is impossible to keep track of children around the campfire. By choice and from necessity they literally sleep all over the place. They like to cuddle next to an uncle, aunt or step-mother. In the winter when there may be only one blanket to shelter a family, the little ones are driven to crawling under the cover of someone else who welcomes the additional warmth of the little bundle. This wandering around often culminates in the sexual experience to which the grown-ups are eager to introduce the child, and he is generally enjoyed first by a person much older than he. Some married men have nicknames that bear a humorous reference to their experience in trying to deflower young girls. Yakwá was called, "You pierced your mother" because he had deflowered a young girl who had the same name as his mother. Kovi received a nickname because his first cousin clawed his penis when he tried to deflower her. The growing child's sexual experience is primarily humorous, often illicit, administered by adults, and apt to be violent in the case of girls.

When the children grow up to be young men and women a strange dichotomy of behavior is noticeable, which is all the more striking because the Kaingáng lay no emphasis on such differences. Kaingáng young men love to sleep together. At night they call to one another, "Come and lie down here with me, with *me!*" Then there is a shifting and squirming so that Nggugn or Waipó or Kanyahé can lie down where he is bidden. In camp one sees young men caressing. Married and unmarried young men lie cheek by jowl, arms around one another, legs slung across bodies, for all the world like lovers in our own society. Sometimes they lie caressing that way in little knots of three or four. Women never do these things. I have never seen any signs of complete homosexual relations among the men or women. I have sat night after night talking to knots of young men, and I have seen them caressing one another in an absolutely open fashion in the broad light of day. But I never saw them make an overt sexual gesture. In other cultures and even in our own one may see young men continually

[1] This whole situation contrasts strikingly with what I observed among the Pilagá Indians (MSS in preparation). There the children receive slight attention from the adults. Sexual intercourse begins at about 5 years and most of the sexual play of the children is perfectly open. Everyone talks and jokes about the sexual affairs of the children.

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reaching for each other's genitals, but the Kaingáng, although they stand around holding their own penises, do not hold other men's.

In the whole mass of Kaingáng folklore there is one hundred-word story of a homosexual relationship between two men and another that tells of a male supernatural that was killed by a man because it sodomized him by trickery. I never heard a remark that alluded in any way to homosexuality. The men like to congregate together, and when the women are in camp they leave them and sit around in groups, weaving baskets or just talking. Sometimes a woman may join them because her husband is there, but even when the men are away the women rarely come together as the men do. They just visit. Like the indiscriminate playing of the children, these caressings, sleeping parties, and gossipings do not follow relationship lines. Whatever may be the specific obligations of cousins or brothers-in-law, they are completely lost sight of in these ephemeral, wholly casual masculine contacts. The basis for man's loyalty to man has roots in the many warm bodily contacts between them. The violent, annihilating conflicts among men in Kaingáng society were all among those who had never shared the languid exchange of caresses on a hot afternoon under the green arched shelter of a house nor lain together night after night under a blanket against the cold. The very transient, unfixated nature of these contacts leaves no grounds for jealousy. The relationships built on these hours of lying together with anyone at all bear fruit in the softening of conflicts that are so characteristic of the Kaingáng. Indeed, there is a patterned friendship between men that has woven this contact into its very warp and woof, and that is the friendship of hunting companions. Men who have hunted together day after day, raided the Brazilians together, slept together beside the same fire, under the same blanket, wrapped in each other's arms, hold this relationship above their kinship with their brothers. The consequences for the general integration of Kaingáng society are immeasurable.

The elaborate laws of sexual avoidance that chart the behavior of men and women in many primitive societies, dividing the entire community into the touchables and the untouchables, are undreamt of among the Kaingáng. Little boys and girls play together in rough and tumble. Brothers and sisters, brothers- and sisters-in-law and cousins, sleep next to one another, cross legs, or embrace one another. The corollaries to this are the marriages and love affairs among almost all classes of relatives. Only marriages between parents and children and between full brothers and sisters are avoided. Marriages between half brothers and sisters are rare.

A complete lack of emphasis on temperamental differences between the sexes permits to boys and girls, men and women, the same jocular and often violent sexual aggressiveness. The term for intercourse may have

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837 36 584 Through her marriage Kuvé's family gained Vomblé as an ally in the quest for food. Even before marriage a girl's sexual interests are beneficial [43] to her family, for her lovers come with presents of food, and they are welcome at her parents' fireside. The food a lover brings is not payment for favors he has received but a gift in expectation of favors still to come. Even after her marriage a woman's amorous intrigues are of considerable advantage to those around her—even to her own husband, for every time she attracts a man she has added a hunter to the band. Wherever his mistress is, there the lover stays, and unless her husband gets wind of the affair and flies into a rage the lover may very likely follow the camp almost indefinitely. His presence is welcome, of course, for another gun or bow and another knife and axe mean so much more meat and honey. Thus even adultery plays a constructive role in Kaingáng society, for it keeps within the band men who might otherwise go elsewhere in search of satisfaction, and it often culminated in polyandrous marriage, which has been one of the strongest integrating forces in Kaingáng society.

595 582 The story is told of Kuvén who was the lover of both Kanggá and her mother. Now as Kanggá's father grew old and it became difficult for him to get meat, he felt more and more the necessity of having someone to help him hunt for his large family. As long as Kuvén remained he could depend on him, but when it seemed that the young man was becoming interested in Yemái, a woman who was no relative of his and whom, therefore, Kuvén might follow far away to her relatives, Kanggá's father said to his wife and daughter: "Call Kuvén; if he marries Yemái he will leave me and go away. Let him get food for your children when I die. If he marries another woman he will throw your children away." So Kanggá's mother called Kuvén and said to her daughter: "Marry him. I am going to live with you and him." So Kuvén married both mother and daughter, and when Kanggá's father died Kuvén took care of the latter's children.

621 671 [61] The Kaingáng have no system of clans or moieties[1] to impose social obligations on them. Their kinship system is not the crystallization of inescapable obligations that is found in many other primitive societies but principally a device for grouping people in large age classes. Their mode of life also made the maintenance of complex systems of obligations and loyalties extremely difficult, for they wandered from place to place in little groups of two to twenty adults. Even the biological family had little permanence as a cooperating unit, for children wandered away from their parents when [594] they grew up and brothers separated to go with their in-laws or to travel with childhood playmates and hunting companions in search of adventure. Under the influence of the conflicting obligations of blood and marriage the composition of the small group of adults was forever changing. The dependence of the men on one another, and even their fundamental reali-

[1] See Appendix II, p. 175.

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zation of this dependence, is not enough to stabilize any relationship among them even today, for there are any number of men with whom an individual may join forces, and if he hunts with his father today he may go away with his wife's father tomorrow and with his sister's husband the day after. Nothing compels him to fix his allegiance.

Nevertheless the Kaingáng had achieved a certain degree of social cohesion, and one of the ways in which they managed it was by building permanent cooperating units around their sex interests. It is in this way that social integration, although explicitly expressed in terms of the economically important men, often actually revolved about the women. As in the case of Kanggá and her mother, the women often became the nuclei of polyandrous and also of joint marriages, which often changed their male composition frequently. Thus by her mere existence the woman held together a complex household, which disintegrated when she died. A general lack of formal rules for marriage permitted the easy building up of large *ménages* by gradual additions of men and women. A household might begin with either a monogamous or a polygynous marriage; as time passed another man might be added to the household and become the co-husband; perhaps another wife was added and then another man. Through the years the family would expand and contract or simply change as the wives or husbands died or were killed off in feuds or the raids of the bugreiros.

The Indians told me of the marriages of Wanyekí.[2] Together with his wife Tendó, his sister and his hunting companion Chu, he wandered about, far away from other members of the tribe. This was nothing unusual for the Kaingáng, who sometimes did not see one another for years. When Chu's wife died Wanyekí's wife cooked and made a sleeping-place for him, simply, as the Kaingáng put it, "because he had no wife," and he became her co-husband. So Chu was saved for Wanyekí and his little isolated band and did not wander away in search of another wife. But as time passed Tendó, the wife, died, and Wanyekí and Chu were left alone. Until his nieces, his sister's daughters, grew to adolescence, Wanyekí had no wife. Then one day his sister said to him: "Wanyekí, live with them. There are no other women. They are in the same position as you—there are no men. So go around with them. There is no one else for you to marry. So marry them." Chu had died in the meanwhile, so Wanyekí, who already had had two wives married these three girls, who were much younger than he. This kind of relationship is not difficult for a Kaingáng girl, for far from wishing to retain her hold on the recreations of her childhood she looks forward to the sexual experiences that she has been urged to seek ever since she was a baby in arms.

Wanyekí lived alone with his three wives, his sister's daughters, until

[2] See footnote p. 30.

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Their rigorous environment and lack of a close social structure that would automatically provide the aging hunter with helpers or the widow who has children with a husband make the problem of food supply terribly pressing for these people. It was for this reason that Ketédn made my next-door neighbor, Kuthúgn, a member of his household when the latter was still a boy. "When I am dead," said Ketédn, "you will take care of my wife and children." Events showed that Ketédn had acted with foresight—perhaps because of his supernatural power—for he was killed by the Brazilians, and now Kuthúgn was living next door to me with Ketédn's wife who was so much older than he.

A widow who is no longer young has a hard time of it with her small children. Dependent on relatives, she wanders from household to household. At night she sleeps alone with her little child. There is no one to take care of her. Her brother or cousin or brother-in-law give her food when they have it. They share what they have as a matter of course, but when there is little food their children come first and the widow may get only short rations. Kundídn is such a widow. One day she eats at her cousin's house, the next at her brother's, the next at the house of another cousin. When she is sick her cousin Anggló sometimes comes to sit beside her, but if Anggló is away at some secret rendezvous with her lover, or off hunting with her brother, Kundídn often lies alone and miserable. None of the young men would marry a woman of forty with a goiter. But when she is well Kundídn is vigorous and aggressive. She works longer days in the fields than the younger women, she goes out frequently to look for honey, she is an aggressive and determined suitor and she had almost chopped off Véye's leg when the latter deliberately drowned her brother. Whenever I had to pass her house I made a wide circle because I knew that Kundídn would attempt to seduce me in her violent and jocular manner if she caught sight of me. At last she offered me her wild, thin little daughter, Tombá, aged about eleven. "Take her and bring her up," she said. "When she is grown, marry her, and she will keep house for you."

These forms of marriage and the custom of occasional adoption with an eye to the consummation of a future sex relationship are only crystallizations from an almost amorphous social life. Nevertheless, however imperfectly defined, informal, and even casual their sexual arrangements may be, the Kaingáng have made them the center of some kind of relationship that has a permanent value for this society. The casual relationships among young people in our own society that are the outgrowth of passion often serve no other function than to satisfy an overwhelming desire for sexual experience and companionship. Once the couple has drifted apart they have no claims on each other. They are strangers and can never depend on one another for anything. But among the Kaingáng, who literally have

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their backs to the wall of existence, who have been hunted by the Brazilians and their enemies, the Kangdjá for two hundred years or more, and who have been torn asunder by bloody vendettas, ties created by passion are never really broken. A boy's sweetheart is *plų* and a girl's is *mbádn*. These are terms that they never fully relinquish, and the sense of status implied by these expressions is never quite lost. Although the terms as they are used between sweethearts have not the same significance as between husband and wife, they do indicate that there is an attachment which cannot be entirely broken and which may even be recognized by a woman's children after she has at last married someone else. When Nenggachá[9] was about to be killed by Kenggó, Anggló, the latter's wife dashed between her husband and his victim and grasped the lance that would have killed Nenggachá. He was her mother's lover, the Kaingáng say, and therefore she protected him from her husband.

The feeling that once a man and a woman have been lovers there has been established a relationship which, however tenuous its bonds and obligations may be, never fully loses its significance, is expressed in the Kaingáng use of terms of relationship. In line with their almost complete lack of feeling for social structure, the Kaingáng entertain contradictory ideas about their relationship terms. They have theories about these terms which they never put into practice in anything like a consistent way. Yet some of these unpracticed theories demonstrate a feeling about relationships that has an actual though subtle significance. The Kaingáng feel that the term *yágn* which means "father," but in a broader sense, "any man much older than I," denotes also a paternal relationship. The fact that they use it for men who have been their mothers' lovers is important once we have come to understand the attitude of the Kaingáng toward their love affairs. The man who has been their mother's lover is in some way associated with their father, and they owe him a certain allegiance that will become active in situations of conflict.

The Kaingáng are such enterprising lovers that one would imagine that a woman would call many of the men around her *mbádn* and that a man would refer to most of the women as *plų*. And this is true within certain limits. In making a detailed analysis for the ethnologist an informant carefully distinguishes between the women with whom he has had an affair and those with whom he has not. The number of the latter in a man's own age-group is small and might be even smaller if he were more careful to include not only those women with whom he has been on constantly friendly terms but also those with whom he has had little contact in the last few years. In generalized thinking, however, a woman speaks of all the men of her group[10] as *mbádn* and a man calls all the women *plų*. Thus the

[9] See p. 118. All these people are dead now.

[10] Her own extended family. See p. 50 for exact definition of this term.

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terms *eklá*, "my offspring," and *éng yi*, "my child," which every man or woman applies to individuals who are very much younger than he, come to have a significance that is intimately related to the entire sexual life of the Kaingáng. A mature man who has lead the normal philandering life of the average Kaingáng suspects that not a few of the children who have other putative fathers are really his. At any rate, since he had intercourse with their mothers he bears to them such relationship as springs from all such contacts. Just as their mothers are forever his *plų* these children are his *klą*. The fact that whole groups[21] of a hundred or more people are referred to as the *klą* of so-and-so, a very old man, reflects not only the adult Kaingáng practice of calling all very young people *klą* but also the deep-rooted feeling of having an actual role in their procreation.

"Klendó's daughter, Pathó, is my child," said Vomblé. "How do you know," said I, "since Klendó also lay with her mother?" "Well, when two men lie with a woman they just call her child their child." But not only do men feel that their mistress's children are their children, but people whose mothers have had intercourse with the same man, whether as lover or husband, regard one another as siblings. The result of this socio-sexual outlook is to draw ever more closely together this small, closely inbred group of people. To the clearly defined and explicitly expressed ties of blood, which already connect them intimately, are added the subtler ties of sex, which, however unimportant they may seem at the moment, nevertheless endure in some measure and are capable of playing their part in life's crises. When Véye was sick with the grippe it was not his wife or his wife's sister's husband or some other relative who came to me to get medicine and food for him, but Kulá, his lover, a strong, aggressive woman a good fifteen years older than he and the wife of my best informant. When he at last died she mourned the longest—even longer than his wife.

The Kaingáng present, therefore, the picture of a society whose very structurelessness permitted the building of stable cooperating units around sex interests. Intrigues that frequently might have been the cause of trouble were often stabilized into lasting polyandrous and joint households, and even when they were not, they nevertheless established ties that were never completely dissolved. But although polyandrous and joint marriages were most valuable to their principals, most Kaingáng men and women are possessive enough to want to keep their spouses to themselves, with the result that 60 percent of the marriages are monogamous.[22] Usually when a man marries he looks forward to gaining as allies in the struggle for food

[21] These are the extended families. See p. 50.

[22] An analysis of 308 marriages taken from genealogies that represent about 100 years of Kaingáng history past and present, yields the following percentages: 60 percent monogamous, 18 percent polygynous, 14 percent polyandrous and 8 percent joint.

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571 at least some of his wife's brothers or male cousins. In a group of a few hundred individuals that has had little contact with the outside world for hundreds of years, however, everyone must be related to everyone else in a variety of ways, and no one has any choice but to marry among the people he sees every day and who are his first or second cousins. The moment he marries, a Kaingáng is supposed to shift his attention from various loyalties *which he has developed around the bonds* of common residence or descent to a specialized loyalty to some of his wife's kin. But Kaingáng society is so closely inbred that this shift often cannot really mean very much. One of my informants had married his mother's half-sister, with the result that he came to view all of his mother's brothers as his in-laws and owed them his special allegiance. This did not involve any particular adjustment for him, for he had always wandered around with them anyway. It would be utterly impossible for anyone in such a society to keep tab on all his theoretical loyalties. The Kaingáng have set up for themselves an ideal pattern of affinal relations through which not even the most intellectual Kaingáng can possibly pick his way to clarity.

Far from being embarrassed by this system which says that a man must be solicitous of every one of his wife's relatives down to her second cousins, who may be legion, the Kaingáng go through life supremely indifferent to it. When the ethnologist comes along with his passion for clarity he discovers that Klendó has completely ignored the relatives of his second wife, while Vomblé never hunted for his wives' sisters and brothers at all but devoted himself completely to the husbands of his sisters and cousins. Every once in a while the body of impracticable theory is invoked to excuse a murder that had been years in the planning, or to rail at an affinal relative from whom less has been received than was expected, but on the whole the Kaingáng are quite willing to allow one another to choose what in-laws they shall associate with. Then these become a man's only affinal relatives, and he is unable to see that anyone else is, no matter how much the ethnologist, with his theoretical interest in social structure, may insist that the logic of the theory has been violated. With indignation in his voice my best informant denied that his wife's brothers and sisters were his in-laws. What, call those people in-laws, who never gave him anything? He should say not. At first they were too young to give him anything, and even now that they were grown up they ignored him.

Whoever lived alone with his wife or wives, that is to say more than three-quarters of the adult males, was really without any man on whom he could absolutely depend to keep him from starvation at all times. His own chosen in-laws with whom he went around day after day might leave him at any moment because they felt that they ought to give some attention to some other of their in-laws for whom they had shot nothing in a long time

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or who had invited them to go on a marauding expedition against the Brazilians. His own brothers had similar obligations. The entire adult male population was torn by half a dozen crosscurrents of loyalties that pulled them from one end of the forest to the other. From year to year, throughout their lives, the Kaingáng wandered about, looking for one another, until a man's life became a record of partings, searchings, and encounters. Through all this parents were separated from children, brothers were parted, relatives by marriage drifted apart for years, only to join forces again and continue a severed relationship. Husbands were even parted from their wives, and only matured co-husbands were inseparable.

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V

Disruptive Forces in Kaingáng Society

182 571 THE VERY FORMLESSNESS OF KAINGÁNG society makes us wonder what gave it coherence. There were no territorial boundaries to limit the range of the hunter, there was no chief or government to impose its will on the people, there were no binding marriage forms and incest restrictions were minimal. Marriage was brittle, and even the polyandrous and joint households, by far the most stable units in the society, included only 20 percent of the married population. Men were torn between the ties of blood and the ties of marriage; they spent their years fluctuating between groups of both kinds and haunted by a sense of insecurity.

619 182 571 578 The mechanism of kinship did not enforce cooperation among specific individuals, and there was no large unit of specific outline that might accomplish coordination of effort in some other way. The cooperation among in-laws might be broken almost without reproach, and the ties that bound children to their parents or to one another yielded to the strain of affinal relationships or to stronger bonds that grew up between men and their hunting companions. Yet, with all this, Kaingáng society could have held together, however haphazardly its bonds are slung, for the Kaingáng have a strong sense of being one people against other people. After all, they are all related to one another by blood, and they are all "*our* people" or "*our* living things" to one another, as opposed to all other "living things" that have no possessive pronoun to bring them within the group. They felt the need for renewing ever and again their informal contacts, and whoever let the years pass as he lived in isolation wandering thoughtlessly in a distant part of the forest risked a quarrel when he met again the people he had neglected. The very lack of fixity of relationships and the multitude of ways of forming them left the Kaingáng with no device for controlling a

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conflict. Once a feud arose there was nothing, neither dominating ties of blood nor the voice of chieftainship or government, to stop or limit it. Where the demands of kin by marriage conflicted with the claims of blood and where the call of a hunting companion whose bed one had shared clamored above the voices of blood and affinity the individual was pulled in a dozen directions, by a dozen magnets. Feuds spread, cleaving the society asunder like a deadly axe, blighting its life like the plague. Thus it came about that the very forces of integration carried the seeds of disruption within them. A man's link with his wife's people pulled him from his siblings; his bond with his sister's husband tore him from his wife's people; and his relationships with his hunting companions drew him from all.

The Kaingáng are divided into extended families ranging in numbers from 50 to 300 individuals. These families are made up of the descendants of two or more men who have intermarried and whose children have intermarried. Thus each family is closely inbred, and almost every member can trace his genealogy[1] to one of the two or more male ancestors. These ancestral males are real personalities, and the data on them is usually rather full, but there is always a point beyond which memory cannot go, and it is impossible to learn anything about any of their parents or siblings. Marriages with other extended families occurred, but marriages within the families far outnumber marriages between the families. This endogamy was brought about not by a specific taboo on marrying outside but by the hostility between the families which made them distrust one another and which kept them apart. When members of different families did marry it almost always caused a split in the ranks of one or both of the intermarrying groups. In such a case brother might be aligned against brother to the death. Those who shifted from one family to another either through marriage or through having been captured as youngsters were looked on as blood relatives of their new associates and hence as enemies to their former friends and were given no quarter in case of attack by members of the family to which they once belonged.

The Kaingáng call members of their own extended family "my own people," and the warm personal relationships that have been described in the preceding chapters exist only among one's "own people." For hundreds of years there have been several Kaingáng extended families and they have lived in a state of perpetual feud with one another. Whole lineages have been destroyed, and others, overcome by panic, have wandered away into the endless forests, never to be heard of again. Sometimes two extended families have come together and have been able to live in peace, but gen-

[1] The Kaingáng are minutely interested in their own genealogies, and they know who their father's father's father's son's wife's sister's daughter's husband is down to the last detail of all his names, what he died of, and how many children he had.

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erally whoever went contrary to the behavior of the rest of his "own people" and threw in his lot with "another group of people" was lost, for he had joined forces with those whose hate and fear were directed against the ones with whom he had ties. He became a wanderer divorced from his own blood, sleepless at night for fear that they might come to kill him, anxious in the day lest his new companions slay him. If he survived, his children bore the weight of his deed, for they might never return to their father's people. They were *kóinggẽgn utpé*, "different men," to them, even though they were first cousins by blood. They had never shared their women or caressed their men. They were shut out of the circle of warm arms and bodies that mean security to the Kaingáng, and they were killed on sight or hunted down like wild animals. In Kaingáng terminology "a different group of our people" is a synonym for *thágn*, enemy. The hated Brazilians and "our different people" are both *thágn*, enemies, "something no good," and severed from the ties of blood in behavior if not in fact.

The Feuds

Today Kaingáng memory does not go further back than the murder of Nduichá with anything like exactness. But it transports us to this death more than a century ago with a precision that is almost mathematical. The complicated genealogies of the people whose descendants are alive today check rigorously. When the Kaingáng discuss such killings as Nduichá's they seem to be fitting together the parts of a machine the intricate workings of which they know precisely. Their absorbed interest in the history of their own destruction has impressed on their minds with flawless clarity the multitudinous cross-workings of the feuds. They remember not only the genealogy of everyone but even details of weather, conversation, and facial expression and the precise spot in which an arrow or a lance struck.

In order to understand the feud conditions under which Nduichá was murdered we must take advantage of these memories and try to picture the composition of Kaingáng society at the time. When our story opens three groups of people are living together: the children of Mumbégn,[2] the children of Kanggúin, and the children of Vomblé. Mumbégn had three wives who bore him many children, but for the present our story is concerned only with three of his offspring: Kumbló, and his sister, and their half-brother, Wanyekí,[3] the son of Mumbégn by another wife. Mumbégn himself had died, and one of his wives, the mother of Kumbló, had married Kovẽ, "a different man," one for whom memory provides no blood tie. For

[2] His real name was Kovẽn, but I have called him Mumbégn in order not to confuse him with his son Kovẽn, who was killed later. These three men are the ancestors of the extended family with which I lived.

[3] See pp. 57-58.

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hunter's skill. A branch from a very thorny bush is burnt and the charcoal mixed with the meat of the animal and eaten "so the hunter's arrows will cut and tear like the thorn."

The bee, since it is a thing that lives and moves, is included in the animistic conceptualization of the world. When the Kaingáng chop out a hive, they say: "Bee, produce! I chopped you out to make beer of you! Yukúi's wife died, and I am making beer of you so that I can cut his hair." Or if they find that the larvae have eaten all the honey, they take the larvae and cry: "Bee, produce! It is I! I am alive! You ate up your honey and that is why you did not produce." And they throw a stick into the hive. After they have taken the honey they rub the sugar over the outside of the tree to show how high up the new hive should extend, and as they do so they exclaim, "Bee, make your honey go up along this way and leave off here" (at the limit of the sugar). The Yukúi mentioned in the formula is an imaginary person whom they use as an excuse for taking the honey. The implication is that since the post-mourning ceremony is extremely important, Bee certainly would not begrudge honey taken under pressure of such a necessity. When a Kaingáng cries, "It is I," he implies that the bee knows him, for such a statement can be intelligible only when the speaker is known.

Behind the requests, commands, and adjurations of the hunting and honey-seeking formulae of the Kaingáng lies not a faith in the magical power of words, but a deep conviction that people will do whatever they are asked and that any reason is sufficient in this society where reasons are unimportant and needs are everything. Whoever asks the Kaingáng to work for him must understand that they are motivated not only by hope of gain but particularly by their fear of refusing. Whoever stands his ground and asserts his rights can move mountains.[28]

Divining

There is scarcely a phenomenon in nature which has not at some time an immediate bearing on the small and insecure cosmos of the Kaingáng. But the feeling that things outside of a man's own body have direct reference to it is reduceable to a conception that most such things have a *destructive* reference. On the human level, the Kaingáng partially overcome this threat by extending their bodies through physical and emotional diffusion—the symbol of security is *ka lélé wyá*, to live in someone else. But everything outside of this social personality, that is to say, members of other extended families, is destructive. In the realm of the supernatural the

[28] This compulsive obedience is at the bottom of the feud victims' attendance at feasts which they know are held solely to entrap them.